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only insofar as it affects strength or capacity. Regional specialization is completely lacking.

In the absence of any professional occupations—there being no people who wholly devote themselves to such activities as carpentering, tanning, or hunting—only a limited amount of individual specialization may be noted. Some men are regarded as excelling in the manufacture of boats, snowshoes, or in carpentering while certain women are well known for their skill in sewing and cooking. Such professionals are occasionally approached for assistance in carrying out a task like boat building and are paid for their work. In general, however, such services are rarely requested.

A summary of the division of labor is presented in Table 11. It must be pointed out that this tabulation is based on standard behavior which, in some cases, differs from the ideals of the society. For example, Louis Mou reported that a man's job is to get wood, brush, and water for the camp while the woman lays the brush and does the cooking. Actually few if any men haul water, some gets brush, but some do haul heavy wood.

Table 11 shows that out of thirty-eight representative occupations, eight are normally performed by either sex and at least thirteen additional ones are frequently done by both sexes. Few tasks can be rigidly allocated to either men or women. Although certain occupations ascribed to men are not normally done by women, women can in an emergency fulfill these tasks. Such work includes big game hunting, cutting trees, and even building tent frames. Men too, in an emergency, can tan skin, make baskets, wash or repair clothes, sew moccasins, and fill snowshoes. In general, however, men do not like to perform women's duties.

No occupations are clearly demarcated by age categories, ability rather than age determining when tasks may be performed. Children, particularly girls above the age of six or seven, perform such household duties as getting wood and water, making fire, tending infant sisters, sewing, and washing clothes. Girls from about eleven years of age assist in such heavier or more complex female activities as tanning skin, making camp, laying snowshoes, or preparing caribou. Mature girls and women, however, take the executive role in carrying out these activities. Boys from fifteen years commonly engage in male allocated tasks like cutting trees, hewing, woodworking, trapping, and hunting, but if they are below that age little more than occasional assistance in these tasks is expected of them. No activities are taboo to old age. An old person keeps performing his customary duties until the nature of the work exceeds his physical powers. As a matter of fact it is the dwindling ability, rather than accumulated years, which defines old age.*

INTERPERSONAL RELATIONS

Related to what has already been said of the relatively slight importance of social organization in Kaska society is the fact that interpersonal relations are primarily restricted within the family during six or seven months of the year. Visits between winter settlements relieve this pattern somewhat, but it is mainly during trading visits to Lower Post that such interpersonal relations involve larger segments of the society. The highest degree of social intercourse occurs during the summer, when members of the several tribes make their residence in that town.

*See below pp. 138-139.

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dollars. That's his kids. He's got maybe five kid. Each put up one hundred dollars. He figger he gonna take whole *Hyland River*. Old Knox put up one hundred fifty dollars. My brother put up ten dollars. They say from Lower Post three thousand dollars going." The impotent motive of *Old Chief* (which we have italicized) is significant, since it points out the lack of ingroup solidarity and the self-contendedness of the individual. *Old Chief* received his designation from white men and should not be regarded as an executive whose legitimacy was derived from the native society.

Today only unorganized and diffused traces of social ideologies are encountered. All of these emphasize better governmental care of the Indian and consist mainly of pleas and complaints which never achieve a stage where they are implemented by action. Interest was shown toward a Canadian Commonwealth Federation (C. C. F.) organizer who came to Lower Post in 1946. Old Man, who heard of the man indirectly from John Knox, spoke approvingly of the "new government" and thought it would "do something" for the Indian.

Interpersonal antagonism characterizes most of the relations of men in the area and is even the most prominent feature of interpersonal relations within a tribal district. Despite the ideal attitude commending a person to mind his own business, the common expression of this latent hostility is through malicious gossip and backbiting. Such expression, however, is confined to good friends and older men who are not apt to carry the calumnies back to the subjects. Young men and most women show a strong and consistent reluctance to gossip or criticize, and it is only in an unguarded moment or during intoxication that their feelings are permitted escape. The careful control on the expression of hostility is related to the Kaska Indian's great fear of giving offense to people and thereby damaging his own reputation. Old Man illustrated this truthfulness abundantly. He felt that Old Lady Mirtle had to be given a good funeral for fear of otherwise offending her daughter, Lady Sam. Following the death of her mother the latter was received in Old Man's house as a temporary mourning duties, but the old man soon regretted his action as he began to perceive that Lady Sam and her youngest son, Donald, were depleting his stock of grub. He was extremely reluctant however, to take any action that would give offense. Instead he complained to the ethnographer of his guests' eating habits and criticized young Donald's laziness. A large part of his resentment was expressed in the socially permitted form of tormenting the latter youth for his indifferent work habits.

The hypocrisy between even good friends is striking. Old Knox and Old Man had spent a sociable evening drinking home together and complimenting each other. Two days later Old Knox criticized Old Man bitterly. He accused the latter of illegally trapping on both sides of the Laird River, affirming that the other men had no right to cross the stream. Then he alluded to Old Man's long association with white men and implied that Old Man was beginning to think of himself as a white man. He ended up by branding his friend as "full of bullshit," that is, a liar. A few days later Old Knox aired his resentment of River Jim, whom he accused of trying to be the boss of the whole country. He forcefully determined to put River Jim in jail.

Similar attitudes prevailed in the relationship of Old Man and River Jim. Together the two always appeared to be good friends, but behind the other's back Old Man was zealously

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critical. He indirectly warned the ethnographer not to be taken in by River Joe's friendship, stating that River Joe quickly tired of people and then discarded them. Old Man periodically resented Joe's past criticism of the present Mrs. Man. According to Old Man, River Joe had sneered at this marriage to an old woman and urged his former brother-in-law (Old Man had married sisters of River Joe's brother's wife) to find a young girl. Old Man expressed little sympathy with River Joe's widowhood, claiming that the latter had once called himself a Taku Indian, and why didn't he go to those people now in order to find a new woman. In his turn River Joe warned the ethnographer not to live with Old Man and compared his own settlement, with its clean, well floored houses, to Old Man's flea-bee buildings.

The same note was struck by Louis Moss, who jeered at the poor accommodations which Old Man could offer the ethnographer and pointed pedefully to his better quarters. Louis' attitudes were relaxed by his partner, Peter Tom. Derogatory attitudes were expressed by Old Man regarding Louis Moss. He said that out of meanness Louis was not allowing his partner, Peter, to live in the former's new house but was forcing the youth to sleep in an old tent frame. This appears to have been a total misconstruction of facts, since Peter had previously boasted that the tent frame would become his own when Louis moved into his new house.

We also heard Peter Tom criticize River Joe for turning against people who are his grub. This antagonism may be explained by the fact that after having lived with one of Joe's daughters for a year, Peter found his plans to wed the girl legally frustrated by the older man's sudden change of mind. Peter also asserted that Hans Donnelly did not treat his wife well, forcing her to haul and cut wood. There is reason to believe that even a neighbor's economic hardship is often experienced as gratifying. An indication of this comes from the enumerator with which travellers' news of poor luck in hunting and trapping is received in the winter settlements.

All of these illustrations come from one tribal district and show the character of the attitudes existing between close neighbors. Even within a single settlement there may be antagonism, especially if members of two unrelated or affinally related families live in proximity. Thus Harry Long accused his brother-in-law's, Hans, mother of having "talked" about him and thereby influenced Hans to build his own tent frame and cease sharing Harry's house.

One function of interpersonal hostility is to reduce any feeling of ingroup solidarity and thus to reaffirm the economic social structure. Between people of different tribal districts even stronger antagonisms prevail. Such people are often referred to as strangers or as "different people." Thus one afternoon Louis Moss expressed his suspicion that the people across the river were drinking a farm. He added, "No use we go over there. These different people. They never treat." Asked for his opinion about the Cross brothers, who were Nahane Indians, Old Man replied that he didn't know the Cross "bunch" but said that, according to Mary Wiley, who had lived with them as an affinal relative, they were "pretty hard to get along with and always talk about other people." He also reported River Joe's decision that the Nahane people were "no good." When Richard Day was asked his opinion of Edward Cross, he stated that the latter is disliked by many people. All he

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609 would add by way of explanation was: "He lies." Later Richard added that he would not
578 associate with Edward for fear of imperiling his friendship with age mates. Even older
571 children show characteristic behavior toward companions from other districts. When
186 Donald Sam first appeared in Lower Post, after fourteen years spent at Frances Lake, a
number of youths approached and inspected him, calling him: "Stranger." They then
threatened to hurt him. Donald remained submissive. An hour or two later the same boys
had fully accepted the visitor. In these attitudes and behaviors toward members of con-
tiguous and mutually intelligible Kaska tribes we see the beginnings of the ethnocentrism
which will be discussed in connection with intergroup relations. In a last analysis the true
ingroup among the Kaska is probably the nuclear family.

578 Any overt expression of hostility in quarrels and ingroup violence is rare. When people
183 are sober there is consistency between ideals and behavior as far as the control of aggression
is concerned. Even the possibility of inviting quarreling is forestalled by the fact that many
people are quick to flee from any such threatening situation. Although one or two dominant
and assertive men appear more ready to face disharmony, in general the pattern for both
sexes is rigorously to suppress and ignore all open expression of hostility.

Intoxication sometimes alters this picture. In this condition, a number of men show
readiness to revive old grudges and an irrespective without fear of provoking violence. In
English, the drunken quarrelers had insults replete with obscenity at one another in an
attempt to provoke an initial act of violence. Before the mounting hostility can reach this
level, women with their young children have generally retreated to a safe distance. Often
576 the provocations to violence remain unaccepted by either party, and the quarrel passes out
579 in a less disgusted exchange of insults. Sometimes, however, the challenge is taken up and
183 blows begin to be exchanged. While fists are used at first, this form of fighting soon yields
to wrestling, the aim being to throw the opponent and then choke him into surrender.
Weapons of any kind were never observed to be employed in quarrels. Sometimes a woman
will try to separate two men who are fighting, but generally women are too timid to venture
close. Old Mike was rather outstanding among men for his consistent tendency to forestall
aggression at least drinks, he also broke up many fights. Antagonism following such quarrels
is rarely prolonged, although the contrasts may continue severely and motivate additional
aggression during a subsequent drinking party. Sometimes in intoxication a bullying type of
behavior appears. Louis Mike even manifested such behavior when he asked Nitla, a very
pacifistic youth, to wrestle him. Nitla immediately declined. Louis then rudely took away a
dipper of coffee which Nitla was drinking, but again the latter displayed no reaction.
Turning his attention elsewhere, Louis pulled up a nearly empty tea pot and emptied the
grinds on Edward Prince, at the same time winking to the ethnographer. Edward ignored
the slight and remarked: "Mike is raising." Only an hour or so previously, when both had
been stuck drunken, Edward and Louis had quarreled directly, but now Edward was sober-
ing up and refused the implicit challenge evident in Louis' behavior.

578 Family life is not characterized by quarreling. Likely a man feels entitled to beat his
573 wife if he suspects that she has been untrue to him, but not all men avail themselves of this
permitted behavior. Several husbands (including Mary Dennelly, Edward Prince, and Louis
Mike) are noted for aggression toward wives when intoxicated. One such quarrel was ob-

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834 ever, they kept their voices low and maintained a cautious watch to prevent interruption. While alcohol still further reduces a man's sexual inhibitions, there is evidence to believe that this process takes much longer in the girl. The belief that girls will readily succumb to sexual advances when intoxicated could not be verified. Unless people are intoxicated, little
[834] direct attention is paid to sex. Obscenity is limited, and mainly expressed in gestures. Discussion of sexual processes tends to be avoided.

832 Three types of sexual stimulation may be noted and usually follow in sequence. These are communication by means of conventional signs, teasing and rough-housing, and, finally, a direct sexual approach involving the genitals. All of these types of approach are distinguished by the fact that they do not rely on words; as we shall show, the whole sexual episode can easily be executed without speech.

832 The principal conventional signs serving to manifest sexual interest are winking and
201 hand pressing. The latter is a common means for boys (and sometimes girls) to express sexual attention toward a dancing partner. Agreement to the invitation implied in the gesture is indicated if the partner returns the pressure. In many women the sign (although it may be returned) provokes a storm of real or affected embarrassment. Pinching the face and thighs are other gestures used to manifest sexual interest.

832 Among young unmarried people, teasing and rough-housing are the commonest ways of sexual stimulation, serving as a means of overcoming the difficulties related to a verbal sexual approach. Obviously a direct solicitation to coitus would not succeed in the society since, under such circumstances, most unmarried girls would immediately run away in embarrassment or fail to respond. Furthermore direct sexual solicitation would be embarrassing to the boy. Teasing and rough-housing are usually limited to nighttime, when boys encounter girls in Lower Post or around a house where a dance is in progress. Often girls initiate these actions. It is interesting to note the inception of the behavior in fourteen or fifteen year old girls, who throw bits of orange peel at young men in the safety of daylight and run off laughing as the boys threaten to catch them. Such provocations is, of course, not yet clearly sexual. At night couples often slap at each other with willow branches, push one another, or girls try to snatch boys' hats. All such actions soon lead to the girl's running off with the boy in pursuit. When the boy has caught her, usually with the girl's consent, the couple will wrestle until one or the other is thrown down. In this wrestling the boy manifests the first direct sexual approach to the girl.

As we have indicated, the third form of sexual stimulation, a direct sexual approach involving the genitals, follows a period of teasing and rough-housing and comes when the young people have moved far enough away from other people to be safe from observation. It is usually reserved until the boy has caught his partner in a dark, secluded place, pref-
erably [illegible] (more rarely a bold, intoxicated girl) initiate such behavior regardless of observers. Boys
[57] normally experience some hesitation in advancing to this form of stimulation, unless they feel sure that the girl will not resist too strongly. Should several boys operate in a group such low consideration of the girl's possible resistance obtains. Generally, some indication of the girl's willingness has already appeared in her teasing or, more importantly, is indicated when she allows herself to be caught. Direct stimulation usually involves a boy touch-

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535 rarely is there any conversation between the couple. When the music has stopped, the girl turns swiftly and returns to her place while the man joins his friends across the room or else stands outside the building until the next number is begun. Sometimes women too go outside. Men frequently dance while wearing their hats and, unless it is very warm, girls continue to wear their coats. Both sears often dance holding an unfinished cigarette in their hands. In form, Kaska dancing may be described as a one-step, but some men in leading proceed in a monotonous walk-like step that has earned the soldiers' approbation, "Lower Post shuffle." The Tahltan do a square dance, but few Kaska Indians know this form. Waltzes are rarely played and are not well danced. White trappers when intoxicated are fond of introducing a variant of the one step. Calling, "woodpecker!" they execute the step by banging the heels forcefully on the floor instead of shuffling. Intoxicated young Indian men sometimes dance in this manner, and drunken musicians create considerable amusement by speeding up the tempo of playing, forcing everyone to dance rapidly. Occasionally a white man will fiddle for a dance. His playing is slower than the Indians' and he frequently interchanges the one step with waltzes, schottisches, and polkas to which the natives do not dance confidently.

One of the primary sources of enjoyment in dancing comes from the movement and
[273] rhythm. There are, however, other functions of a dance which contribute to its popularity.
[570] The first of these is the excitement which, even without the aid of alcohol, serves to break down the emotional remoteness of the people and, like the gambling games, leads to some of the most intensive social interaction in the society. Dances are also popular because they
[832] are among the few situations facilitating sexual interaction. Soldiers and civilian construction workers employed on the Alaska Highway recognized this function and often utilized dances to recruit Indian girls for sexual purposes. Complaints by traders and missionaries led the provincial and Mounted Police to pay surprise visits to dances and order out of town all strangers found there. Indian dances are also visited by the police to detect evidence of
[856] drinking. Dances found in progress after midnight, Saturday, are ordered closed under the terms of a provincial law forbidding Sunday dancing.

525 *Gambling.* In contrast to dancing, not much time is spent in gambling. Card games, such as poker and blackjack, are played during the summer and winter but are emotionally less intense than the stick games, which take place for a few consecutive nights each summer. When interest has been aroused in such a game, someone proposes that it be played and word travels through the community. Gradually people make their way to the designated spot. Gambling generally takes place some distance from town, since experience has taught the Indians that the resident missionary and traders are likely to be displeased if kept awake by the sound of the drumming.

"In preparation for gambling someone first cuts eleven tally sticks from green willow branches. These sticks, each about a foot long, are peeled and one end sharpened so that they can be thrust into the ground. The next task is to choose two sides. This is done informally, but the man who is most prominent in the choosing becomes the captain of his team. Each team usually contains an even number of men—from four to six. A youth is then
[334] designated to manage the "drum," which may consist of a frying pan, a four gallon oil tin, or a tambourine drum specially prepared for gambling. The drum stick is a plain piece of thick willow.

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the white man's law and the regulative functions of government. Nitlo's words demonstrate the connection between a desire for inviolable independence and the denial of external authority: "Injun nothing here. He fend himself. He live on the next. Nothing here the Injun." Going on, he sought to point out the meaninglessness of authority which is not legitimized by a validated protective role. Game, Nitlo said, is fed by Jesus, not by the government. Jesus "make this ground . . . He the boss for it. Well, He make white people, He make guns, anything. Well, He boss to anything." The white man made nothing in the native's environment, hence he cannot properly assume authority.

In his ingroup relationships the Indian is also self-centered and unauthoritarian. He does not seek authority in interpersonal relations, and others can scarcely tell him what to do—initiation of activity must come from within. Egocentricity thus leaves little room for patterns of leadership. Few people know how to direct others effectively and white men who try to originate action in social affairs, like dances or trading, meet with apathy and usually fail to realize their suggestions. In most cooperative enterprises, like berry picking or poling a boat, each participant selects his role with a minimum of direction. Within the Indian community, there is a consistent reluctance to give direction or, except in cases of manifest danger, as in adapting to the winter environment, even venture direct suggestion. "We do it this way," the Indian says when approached for help or advice, the implication being that the pupil may or may not follow the traditional pattern. There is little attempt to force adherence to habitual modes of procedure. Personal standards govern the manufacture of cultural products. For example, Hare Donnelly provided considerable amusement when he constructed a doorway to his tent frame which only suited his own small dimensions, and built a toboggan that was also smaller than most of those vehicles. Although they may be extreme, these examples are not exceptional. Instead of cultural objects being manufactured in close accordance with traditional forms, we find toboggans baked with moulded wire cable, and other cultural products utilizing scraps of material salvaged from the refuse dumps behind Western Lake Airport. Any analysis of material products of behavior confirms the absence of formal patterns and indicates the easiness with which variations are developed.

Self-interest sometimes leads to wilfulness, people generally showing little appreciation of values like self-sacrifice. When in danger a man tends to look out for himself or his immediate family. Old Man, going home from a dance at which there had been drinking, saw a car in town belonging to the Mounted Police but warned nobody of what was certainly a threatening state of affairs. On another occasion Dorothy Flores's sister warned her brother, who was intoxicated at a dance, that the provincial policeman was walking through [illegible]. The two young people fled without warning anyone else. Self-interest is revealed historically in the fact that once when a social theology was adopted (under the leadership of a white man), one Indian at least clearly manifested a primary concern with personal gain. The Kaska Indian's preoccupation with his own welfare is even expressed in his complaint that the government does not help the Indians; in reality the center of reference is the speaker, who sees himself standing to benefit from any generous Indian policy.

In some cases egocentricity is overdeveloped to a point where it motivates deviant behavior. Such an individual neglects to respect his desire for independence and personal

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managed. For an assertive and basically confident people these problems would 754
perhaps not have been too catastrophic. Kaska resourcefulness, however, is 182
limited to relatively familiar situations or those which do not require a prodi-
gious expenditure of energy and too severe a disruption of normal routines. In 154
novel critical situations the Indian reveals a tendency to passivity and pro- 178
crastination. These behaviors, totally inadequate as defenses in the acculturation situation, simply aggravated adaptive crises when they were applied to hunting, illness, and trapping. The inevitable result was the arousal of secondary frustration and anxiety.

It was this anxiety, leading to interpersonal difficulties and hostility (which 759
the Kaska are unable to express directly) which was the condition predisposing 154
the society to a favorable reception of witch-fear. Sickness, always a conflict
situation for a people dependent on mobility to survive, was the area in which 182
the introduced pattern became readily integrated. Witch-fear solved the emotional problems of frustration and anxiety by offering a channel for the discharge of their derived hostility.

Although this was the general predisposing condition facilitating the recep- 754
tion of witchcraft, certain structural congruities to witchcraft must not be
overlooked.* Without an awareness of the possibility of effecting malevolence 182
sympathetically or contagiously, such as existed in the former belief in sorcery, witchcraft would have had greater difficulty in taking hold. Torture also had a place in the aboriginal way of life, enemy captives taken in intertribal warfare having been even more callously treated than were suspected witches. Finally the social structure of the group must be regarded as having been functionally related to the introduced attitudes by making it possible for suspicion and fear to exist between even proximate relatives and neighbors.

Kaska society has always been marked by extreme atomism with a mini- 181
mum of social identification extending beyond the family. Even within the
family authority was weak but deference highly emphasized. Cooperation was 571
rare and always on an individualistic and voluntary basis. The largest and best 578
definable unit of social structure beyond the family was the mobile band having the nuclear family as the center around which were grouped grandparents, sons-in-law and, occasionally, other relatives. Such bands were sociologically cemented by the emotional bonds of primary kinship relations. Beyond these bonds affinal kinship, personal friendship, congeniality, and common membership in an exogamous moiety* operated to maintain social relations, but such

* We have use "structural" in somewhat the same sense that Kluckhohn has spoken of "structural analysis" as "an investigation of 'functional dependencies'" or "the interrelation of parts" of a culture, but excluding those psychological factors which are commonly referred to "personality." This is functionalism in Radcliffe-Brown's rather than Malinowski's sense of the term. (Kluckhohn, 1944, p. 43; Radcliffe-Brown, 1948.)

* Dual organization did not extend to the eastern Nelson Indians and probably not to the Sagatz-tena.

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ties were weak and unformalized. When a band through marriage secured members of another dialect division (i.e., tribe) the affinal kinship ties were apt to be riddled by considerable distrust. Even today relations between dialect groups are apt to be strained although considerable marriage has taken place between them. Thus on its peripheries the band was extremely unstable and possessed few mechanisms for cementing relationships with other bands. Between such units only more distant blood and affinal kinship ties operated, and here the emotional factor needed to reinforce kinship ties in a society where interpersonal relations are not strictly formalized was even more minimal. Covert interpersonal hostility was congruent to and almost inevitable in such a social structure wherein the individual literally felt he could depend on nobody but himself and in which mistrust rapidly mounted beyond the nuclear family. Obviously, therefore, relatives and neighbors often failed to inspire confidence or security and numerous possibilities for suspicion of malevolence were available. In the absence of any organized chieftainship such antagonisms were primarily subject to individual control in accordance with the ideals of the society.

This analysis has not yet directly explained one important feature of Kaska witch-fear. Why was suspicion of witchcraft so often directed against children? In part the answer may lie in the fact that adults often circumvented accusations by placing the blame for alleged bewitchment on defenseless children. A psychological explanation underlying such behavior can be found in the fact that the Kaska's timidity in interpersonal relations and the correlated deference patterning manifest adult relations made it undesirable to arouse direct hostility.[6] Children, therefore, were safer targets for accusations. Finally we must look to the society's attitudes toward children. The inhibition of demonstrative affection to children has already been pointed out and would seem to point to ambivalence as regards children. An interpretation of conflicting attitudes toward offspring is strengthened by the evidence that some women do not want children and this is related to expressions of masculine striving in some female members of the contemporary society. There are more socially patterned techniques for inducing sterility and contraception than there are means of promoting fecundity. It becomes conceivable, therefore, that a woman who was emotionally withdrawn and unconsciously ambivalent in her attitude toward children could assist in the torture of her own or a relative's child. Emotional rejection, it must be pointed out, is not correlated with conscious hostility toward children and of course not all parents demonstrated hostility to children. Many greatly feared the hysterical outbreaks of witch-fear and witch-hunting and sought to protect their families by removing them from the area.

[6] Kluckhohn has found fear of witchcraft among the Navaho to be associated with only a slight incidence of overt interpersonal aggression. (Kluckhohn, 1944, p. 51.)